

### PROPERTY-HOLDINGS OF LITURGISTS IN FOURTH-CENTURY KARANIS

Since liturgies and fourth-century Karanis have both been areas in which Naphtali Lewis has made important contributions, I hope that an attempt to join the two may be of some interest to him. The following pages are an attempt to exploit the information of the archive of Aurelius Isidoros to draw a picture of the property holdings of known occupants of village liturgical positions. A very large number of these liturgists is known from the texts.<sup>1</sup> A considerable group of these must be set aside at once, since they bear common names and their fathers' names are not given. More than one candidate can therefore be found among our papyri with whom they might be identified. Of the residue, three classes can be identified: (1) Those who can be identified with certainty with known persons, either because their patronymics are given or because their names are rare, and who appear in the documents from which the information about property holdings is drawn; (2) those for whom patronymics are given, but who cannot be identified with any confidence with persons known as property holders in Karanis; and (3) those who have sufficiently uncommon names to support an identification, but who cannot be found in the documents concerning property.

Of these groups, only the first offers secure data for our investigation, and it will be to this group that our attention will principally be directed. The other two groups will be treated more briefly; despite the difficulties, some interesting information can be elicited.

<sup>1</sup> A list of documents in this archive, other than in *P.Cair.Isid.*, will appear in the introduction to the forthcoming *P.Col. VII*, which consists entirely of fourth-century documents from Karanis. It was Naphtali Lewis who copied most of the papyri and it is to him that I owe the opportunity of publishing them. Evidence from this volume is cited in this article without quoting the text, since the volume should be available soon.

A few words about the manner in which figures about property have been reached are necessary. We possess three main sources for this question: (1) *P.Cair.Isid.* 6, a register of A.D. 300–305 concerning land in the village of Karanis. This roll does not include any land in the *horiodiktia*, the surrounding district of Karanis, and it therefore presents an incomplete picture of the landholdings of those who owned land in both places, as a great many people did.

(2) More useful is *P.Cair.Isid.* 9, in which amounts paid in taxes for 308/9 covering both the village and the *horiodiktia* are recorded. There are figures both for wheat and for barley. Despite damage, both figures are preserved for a large number of individuals. Since we know the methods by which these taxes were assessed, from *P.Cair.Isid.* 11, we can compute landholdings on the basis of these taxes. A complete explanation of the method used is given in *Cd'E 52* (1977; forthcoming). There is some margin for error because of possible failure to pay taxes in full, but this is evidently small in most cases.

(3) A further source of information is the chaff taxes of 309/310, recorded in *P.Cair.Isid.* 10 (payments) and 17 (arrears). Boak and Youtie have shown that the taxes were 25 pounds per aroura. The taxes are recorded by sarganai of 150 pounds; one need only multiply the total taxes paid and due by 6 in order to get the number of arouras on which these taxes had to be paid.

One further word: Aurelius Isidoros is omitted from the lists, though he is discussed in the conclusions. He served, as we know, in 11 liturgies over twenty-one years, including *kephalaiotes*, *pediophylax*, *apaitetes*, *komarch*, *sitologos*, and *tesserarius* (*P.Cair.Isid.*, pp. 11–17). I have discussed his landholdings at length in the article in *Cd'E 52* (1977) cited above, and the reader is referred there for that complicated subject.

## Class I

## SITOLOGOI

(Liturgists whose patronymic is inferred rather than stated are given with their filiation in parentheses. \* indicates joint owner.)

Anouphis son of Masculinus	306/7	<i>P.Cair.Isid.</i> 45.2	48 ar. <sup>2</sup>
Antonius s. of Antonius	308/9	<i>P.Cair.Isid.</i> 9.3 etc.	11 ar. <sup>3</sup>
Demetrios s. of Ptolemaios	311/2	<i>P.Cair.Isid.</i> 41.98	26 ar.
Harpalos s. of Heras	308/9	<i>P.Cair.Isid.</i> 9.4 etc.	42 ar. <sup>5</sup>
Isidoros s. of Heras	306/7	<i>P.Cair.Isid.</i> 45.1	67 ar. <sup>6*</sup>
Kasianos s. of Saprous	308/9	<i>P.Cair.Isid.</i> 9.2-3 etc.	12 ar. <sup>7</sup>
Kasios (s. of Heras)	301-304	<i>P.Cair.Isid.</i> 41.31 etc.	67 ar. <sup>8*</sup>
Pantel (s. of Papeeis)	306/7	<i>P.Cair.Isid.</i> 45.2	23 ar. <sup>9</sup>
Pelenis (s. of Kastor)	305	<i>P.Cair.Isid.</i> 41.81	13 ar. <sup>10</sup>
Pleoin (s. of Eudaimon)	303/4	<i>P.Cair.Isid.</i> 41.68	32 ar. <sup>11</sup>
Priscus (s. of Eudaimon)	306/7	<i>P.Cair.Isid.</i> 45.3	38 ar. <sup>12</sup>

2 Also served as *tesserarius*. *P.Cair.Isid.* 10.131: 8 sarg. *P.Cair.Isid.* 9.132: 21 art. wheat; barley entry lacking.

3 *P.Cair.Isid.* 9.84, 275: 9 art. wheat, 10 barley indicate 8½ ar. private, 2.5 public, total 11⅓ ar. Entry in *P.Cair.Isid.* 17.13 is for 1 sarg. only. Perhaps *sitologos* of Ptolemais in 317/8 (*P.Cair.Isid.* 59.19-20).

4 Brother of Aur. Isidoros. *P.Cair.Isid.* 9.156, 265: 31.5 art. wheat, 22.75 barley indicate 10.2 private, 15.7 public, total 25.9 ar. *P.Cair.Isid.* 17.57 probably indicates 25⅓ ar., cf. *Cd'E* 52 (1977; forthcoming) n. 18.

5 Also served as *apaitetes*. *P.Cair.Isid.* 9.142, 250 (jointly with brother Seuthes): 36 art. wheat, 36.5 barley indicate 29.5 private, 12 public, total 41.5 ar.

6 *P.Cair.Isid.* 9.99, 209 (jointly with brother Kasios): 63.75 wheat, 59⅓ barley indicate 43.1 private, 24.3 public, total 67.4 ar. Chaff, *P.Cair.Isid.* 10.15, 90, 95, 146 total 3 sarg., plus line 24 1 sarg. in Kasios' name and arrears in *P.Cair.Isid.* 17.62, 6.5 sarg., total 10.5 sarg., indicate 63 ar.

7 Also served as *apaitetes*. *P.Cair.Isid.* 9.100, 210: 17 wheat, 10.75 barley indicate 2.9 private, 9.3 public, total 12.2 ar. *P.Cair.Isid.* 17.67 (no patronymic) gives 1.5 sarg., i.e. 9 ar.

8 See *supra*, n. 6 for joint holdings with brother Isidoros.

9 *P.Cair.Isid.* 6.305: 16.5+ ar. in village alone. *P.Cair.Isid.* 9.122, 233: 24 art. wheat, 20 barley indicate 12.2 private, 10.5 public, total 22.7 ar. *P.Cair.Isid.* 10.157, only 1 sarg.

10 Possibly also served as *apaitetes*: *P.Col.* VII 137.8, *P.Mert.* II 88 v.11, vi.5. *P.Cair.Isid.* 9.134, 241: 9⅔ wheat, 11 barley indicate 10 private, 2.5 public, total 12.5 ar. *P.Cair.Isid.* 10.56, 2 sarg. indicate 12 ar.

11 *P.Cair.Isid.* 9.112, 223: 40 wheat, 28 barley indicate 11.3 private, 20.5 public, total 31.8 ar. *P.Cair.Isid.* 10.94, 99, 138, 189, 211 total 5 sarg. indicate 30 ar. Perhaps he was again *sitologos* in 307/8 (*P.Col.* VII 141.85).

12 *P.Cair.Isid.* 9.115, 226: 44.375 wheat, 33 barley indicate 15.9 private, 21.6 public, total 37.5 ar.

## Statistical Summary:

Values attested: 11  
 12  
 13  
 21  
 23  
 26  
 32  
 34  
 38  
 48

Mean: 25.8

Median: 23-26

(Values of jointly owned property have been halved.)

## APAITETAI

Arabikos (s. of Ptoleas)	300/1	<i>P.Col.</i> VII 137.5	69 ar. <sup>13</sup>
Demetrios s. of Valerius	309/310	<i>P.Cair.Isid.</i> 51.2-3	26 ar. <sup>14</sup>
Harpalos (s. of Heras)	309/310	<i>P.Col.</i> VII 141.79	42 ar. <sup>15*</sup>
Heron s. of Heron	309/310	<i>P.Col.</i> VII 141.61, 68	42 ar. <sup>16*</sup>
Kapeeis s. of Apollonios	309/310	<i>P.Col.</i> VII 141.61, 68	24 ar. <sup>17</sup>
Kasianos (s. of Sappros)	309/310	<i>P.Cair.Isid.</i> 51.2	12 ar. <sup>18</sup>
Kastor s. of Pankratios	307/8	<i>P.Cair.Isid.</i> 51.1	— <sup>19</sup>
Moros s. of Isidoros	312/3	<i>P.Cair.Isid.</i> 55.1	8 ar. <sup>20</sup>
Pelenis (s. of Kastor)	300/1	<i>P.Col.</i> VII 137.8	13 ar. <sup>21</sup>
Seuthes s. of Heras	310/311	<i>P.Cair.Isid.</i> 10.2 etc.	42 ar. <sup>22*</sup>
Sotas (s. of Apollonios)	310	<i>P.Col.</i> VII 141.95	30 ar. <sup>23</sup>
Valas (s. of Sarapion)	313/4	<i>P.Cair.Isid.</i> 53.23	18 ar. <sup>24</sup>

## Statistical Summary:

Values attested: 8  
 12  
 13  
 18  
 21  
 21  
 24  
 26  
 30  
 42  
 69

Mean: 25.8

Median: 21

## KOMARCHS

Ariston s. of Serenos	314/5	<i>P.Cair.Isid.</i> 56.1 etc.	48 ar. <sup>25</sup>
Doulos s. of Timotheos	313/4	<i>P.Cair.Isid.</i> 54.2	— <sup>26</sup>
Pnas (s. of Sarapion)	unknown	<i>P.Cair.Isid.</i> 24.11	18 ar. <sup>27</sup>

## TESSERARII

Anouphis (s. of Masculinus)	309/310	<i>P.Col.</i> VII 141.54	48 ar. <sup>28</sup>
Kasianos (s. of Saprour)	307/8	<i>P.Col.</i> VII 139.1 etc.	12 ar. <sup>29</sup>
Valas (s. of Sarapion)	308/9	<i>P.Col.</i> VII 141.23	18 ar. <sup>30</sup>

13 *P.Cair.Isid.* 6.109: 20 $\frac{5}{8}$  ar. in village alone. *P.Cair.Isid.* 9.71, 182: 68.75 wheat, barley lost. *P.Cair.Isid.* 10.9, 101, 152, 223; 17.5: 9 sarg., indicate 54 ar. (If this is exact, he had 18.5 private and 33.5 public ar.)

14 In *P.Cair.Isid.* 24.7, he has the same assessment as Demetrios, Heras and Heron, sons of Ptolemaios (i.e., the brothers of Aur. Isidoros). The figure given here is that used for Demetrios s. of Ptolemaios; the others are very close.

15 See *supra*, n. 5.

16 *P.Cair.Isid.* 9.94, 203: 33 wheat, 32 barley indicate 24.6 private, 11.8 public, total 36.4 ar. *P.Cair.Isid.* 10.121; 17.47 indicate 7 sarg., or 42 ar. His position as *apaitetes* is deduced, not stated.

17 *P.Cair.Isid.* 6.219: 4+ in village only. *P.Cair.Isid.* 9.102, 212: 49.75, 20+ barley. This set of figures works only if the missing digit in the barley figure is high. If the number was 29, the total landholdings were 33 ar. *P.Cair.Isid.* 17.72 gives arrears of 4 sarg., i.e. for 24 ar.

18 See *supra*, n. 7.

19 We have no figures for his landholdings. He was the son of Aur. Isidoros' brother Pankratios, who himself had landholdings of about 65 ar. (cf. *Cd'E* 52[1977; forthcoming] n. 20 for the computation).

20 *P.Cair.Isid.* 6.34: somewhat over 5.75 ar. in the village only. *P.Cair.Isid.* 17.81: 1 $\frac{1}{3}$  sarg., or 8 ar.

21 See *supra*, n. 10.

22 See *supra*, n. 5; he may have served again in 308/9 (*P.Col.* VII 141.45).

23 *P.Cair.Isid.* 9.140, 247: 5 $\frac{2}{3}$  wheat, barley lost. *P.Cair.Isid.* 10.4, 63, 108, 184, 4 sarg.; 17.147, at least 1 sarg. (figure lost); minimum total, 5 sarg., or 30 ar.

24 *P.Cair.Isid.* 10.36, 100, 195, (219, without patronymic): 3 sarg., or 18 ar.

25 *P.Cair.Isid.* 9.77, 188; 53 wheat, 42 barley indicate 23.4 private, 24.3 public, total 47.7 ar. *P.Cair.Isid.* 10.48, 171; 17.7, total 7 sarg., indicate 42 ar.

26 Possibly Timotheos s. of Timotheos is his father; he pays taxes for about 7.5 ar. in *P.Cair.Isid.* 9.150, 259.

27 *P.Cair.Isid.* 10.88, 161: 1 and share of 2, total 3 sarg., indicates 18 ar. (12 ar. if second is split equally).

28 See *supra*, n. 2.

29 See *supra*, n. 7.

30 See *supra*, n. 24.

## KEPHALAIOTAI

Dioskoros s. of Tiberinus	315	<i>P.Cair.Isid.</i> 57.5	6 ar. <sup>31</sup>
Papeis s. of Pantel	315	<i>P.Cair.Isid.</i> 57.3	23 ar. <sup>32</sup>
Patieis s. of Isidoros	315	<i>P.Cair.Isid.</i> 57.10	13 ar. <sup>33</sup>

## Class II

Nearly all of those liturgists with patronymic who are not found in the property and tax registers of *P.Cair.Isid.* are attested in their offices after the date of these documents, i.e. after 310. It is, however, possible to reach some conclusions about a number of them. For example, six of the *kephalaiotai* in *P.Cair.Isid.* 57 cannot be identified as property owners, but the possible fathers of many can. Some also appear in *P.Cair.Isid.* 20, and the editors' conclusion in the introduction to that document, that we are dealing already with the younger generation, is no doubt correct. Since the list of *kephalaiotai* belongs in 315, we must assume a fairly heavy degree of turnover. To the extent that the work of the *kephalaiotai* was more onerous than that of some liturgies, in the sense of physical exertion, we must suppose that younger men were chosen for it, possibly even while their fathers still controlled the family property.<sup>34</sup>

Among the other men in this group, we can trace the possible family connections of a considerable number.<sup>35</sup> Many of these identifications, however, are quite uncertain. Beyond this group, there remain four

<sup>31</sup> *P.Cair.Isid.* 10.209: 1 sarg.

<sup>32</sup> No doubt son of Pantel s. of Papeis, for whose holdings see *supra*, n. 9. The father's figure is used here.

<sup>33</sup> *P.Cair.Isid.* 9.118, 229: 19 1/3 wheat, 11 barley indicate 1.2 private, 11.3 public, total 12.5 ar. *P.Cair.Isid.* 10.85, 220: 2 sarg. indicate 12 ar.

<sup>34</sup> These *kephalaiotai* are: (1) Demetrios s. of Chairemon. There is a possible identification of his father in *P.Cair.Isid.* 17.10 and elsewhere, but it is not very promising. (2) Dioskoros son of Kastor, for whom I see no good candidate for father. (3) Isidoros son of Leonides. A Leonides son of Papeis in *P.Cair.Isid.* 9.105, 215 seems to own 25 arouras. (4) Kastor son of Sabinos. I do not see any possible father in the lists. (5) Paesis s. of Melas. There are several men named Melas who might have been his father. (6) Sarapion s. of Serenos. His father is certainly Serenos s. of Horos, who appears in *P.Cair.Isid.* 9.63, 174; 10.31, 74, 105, 188; from his 4 sarg., landholdings of 24 ar. may be deduced. For the identification, see my remarks in *StudPap* 17 (1978) 53.

<sup>35</sup> The most secure connections seem to me the following: (1) Isidoros s. of Paulos. The father, Paulos s. of Isidoros, appears in *P.Cair.Isid.* 9.124, 234; 10.17, 61, 102, 133; from these I deduce landholdings of ca 31 ar. The son was *apaitetes* in 322/3 (*P.Cair.Isid.* 61.2). (2) Isidoros s. of Pelenios. Peleni(o)s s. of Kastor was *sitologos*, cf. *supra*, n. 10. The son was komarch in 313/4 (*P.Cair.Isid.* 54.2) and *apaitetes* in 316/7 (*P.Cair.Isid.* 59.35). (3) Sarapion s. of Leonides, *apaitetes* in 318/9 for Kalos (*P.Cair.Isid.* 60.1), may be the son of Leonides s. of Papeis, for whom see *supra*, n. 2. (4) Path[ ] s. of Patieis (*apaitetes*, *P.Cair.Isid.* 59.35-36, 316/7) may be the son of the *kephalaiotes* Patieis s. of Isidoros, cf. *supra*, n. 33. I count another seven for whom putative fathers or brothers can be cited with little certainty.

puzzling cases, men who held liturgies in 307/8 or 308/9 itself and yet who are absent from the property and tax registers. In fact, among them is one of the very *sitologoi* who collected the taxes recorded in *P.Cair.Isid.* 9!<sup>36</sup> As to the others, it is conceivable that their sons had already taken over the family property by 309.<sup>37</sup>

### Class III

Five liturgists attested before 308/9 are absent from the tax registers.<sup>38</sup> For only one of them<sup>39</sup> can even a son be found anywhere; the rest are total blanks. Three officials active in 308/9 itself are lacking, but one of these may be represented in the lists by a son,<sup>40</sup> and another is attested as a business associate of Aurelius Isidoros in 308.<sup>41</sup> There remain eight persons who served in liturgic posts after 310 and who cannot be identified. One of them might be only a minor spelling variant of a known person,<sup>42</sup> but the others are untraceable.<sup>43</sup> Probably they are the sons of property owners who appear in our records, but the absence of any patronymic makes it impossible to verify this suggestion. Once again we are probably dealing with a very rapid turnover in the population.

Much more comparative study of other times and places is needed if the information gathered above is to be given full meaning. For the moment, I wish to make only two preliminary observations.

36 Venaphris s. of Orsenouphis. Two sons of Orsenouphis do appear in the tax lists, Atisios (*P.Cair.Isid.* 9.80, 190; 17.34) and Kopres (*P.Cair.Isid.* 9.101, 211; 10.134; 17.71), both evidently very small landowners. An Orsenouphis s. of Sarapion appears in *P.Cair. Isid.* 6.237, but the figures there are lost.

37 Two komarchs of 307/8 (*P.Cair.Isid.* 125.2-3), Aion s. of Syrion and Isidoros s. of Sarapion, and Palemon s. of Pa . . . , *apaitetes* in the same year (*P.Cair.Isid.* 51.1) are the persons in question. Some identifications are possible, but none is compelling.

38 Aside from the man listed in n. 39, *infra*, there are Ateukis (*apaitetes* in 303/4, *P.Cair.Isid.* 44.5); Apin and Asem( ) (*tesserarii* for Ptolemais in 307/8, *P.Col.* VII 139.14); and Paon, *sitologos* in 307/8 (*P.Col.* VII 141.86).

39 Komon, *apaitetes* in 304/5 (*P.Cair.Isid.* 41.57; 43.5) may be the father of the Chairemon s. of Komon in *P.Cair.Isid.* 6.259, who owns over 8 ar. of village land.

40 Neas, whose son is perhaps the Atous of *P.Cair.Isid.* 9.82, 182; 17.14—not a wealthy man. Neas as *sitologos* in 308/9: *P.Cair.Isid.* 9.3; 15.4 etc.; 49.3.

41 Herodianos (*apaitetes* 308/9, *P.Col.* VII 141.37), for whom see *P.Cair.Isid.* 88.8; 89.14; 97.3, 17. Antinoos (*apaitetes* 308/9, *P.Col.* VII 141.37), is completely unknown.

42 Apphous, *apaitetes* in 317/8 (*P.Cair.Isid.* 59.28), may be the Apous s. of Ptolemaios of *P.Cair.Isid.* 9.60, 171; 10.207; 17.28, who probably owned about 36 ar.

43 Two men named Antiourios (the same?), one *sitologos* of Ptolemais in 317/8 (*P.Cair.Isid.* 59.19), the other *apaitetes* in 323 (*P.Cair.Isid.* 61.5, 42). Hekis, *apaitetes* in 323 (*P.Cair.Isid.* 61.34). Neon, *sitologos* of Ptolemais in 314/5 (*P.Cair.Isid.* 59.9). Mistias, *apaitetes* in 313/4 (*P.Cair.Isid.* 55.9). Didymos, *apaitetes* in 312/3 (*P.Cair.Isid.* 55.1). Aphrodisios, *sitologos* of Ptolemais in 317/8 (*P.Cair.Isid.* 59.19).

(1) A wide range of property holdings is observable among villagers holding the main liturgical positions in their villages. A third of the *sitologoi* and *apaitetai* had fewer than 20 arouras, and only three of 21 had over 40 arouras. All of the mean and median figures hover in the low to mid 20s. In the condition of agriculture in Karanis in the fourth century, with water increasingly a problem, such holdings probably represented an annual net income before taxes of not much over 100 artabas of wheat. This is not an impressive amount, and the strain on many of them must have been considerable. Aurelius Isidoros, with about 54 arouras of his own (before 309), was a comparatively affluent member of the liturgical class—only one richer man is attested as a liturgist. It is not to be wondered at that he was assigned liturgies at a rate of one for every two years.

(2) The pool of liturgists changed relatively rapidly. Not too many people are attested in more than one liturgy, and only a few in three. No doubt our records are seriously incomplete. But it is striking how many of the liturgists in Karanis and its *horiodyktia* in the period 312–323 either are the sons of the property holders of 309–310 or are completely unidentifiable in the registers of those years. It is probable that nearly all liturgists in the district of Karanis paid grain taxes there; we must therefore assume a rather swift change in the population. Isidoros, with a liturgical career of two decades, is again an exception. Probably many liturgists are sons serving in place of aged fathers, even though the property was still registered in the fathers' names.<sup>44</sup>

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

ROGER S. BAGNALL

<sup>44</sup> I do not mean to suggest that things were quite so bleak as in Thebes (cf. *O. Ont. Mus.* I, pp. 25–27 and 54–62). But in fact relatively few persons can be traced in the Karanis papyri for longer than a decade or two, and the pessimistic conclusions about Thebes may not be so far from the reality in Karanis also.